/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "queimadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

• 361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[A] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[A] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
115 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[199] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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361

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, p. 172/; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this [131] entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when 179 648 997 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their livet.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [822] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away. the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a gran widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts. the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others. a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/119 cont./

The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease. the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[2] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosophe," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions, he chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words: "este mêmo" -- "nimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luiz maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[2] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe Classified under SP2 Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Ann 157]

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[82] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

41 There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
329 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
213 of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[139] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

341 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kpaline," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 353 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 361 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.

133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Roncro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with dishevelled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, 291 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of 301 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian 302 style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active [142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 142 302 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us. We called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

1: Steinen--39 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP?

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Bakairí village.

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had
•[361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow
487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

594 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 [241] After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 [576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready./ Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately [123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] [624] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/171 cont./

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1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

• 361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ ?'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A
[29] young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

• 361 [342] 122 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 345 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther 142 downstream, the Kustenaú /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, The more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172 / visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.

●361 Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen

609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and

[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɣura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɣura Bakaïrí --

[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-

[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or buritĩ bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvun, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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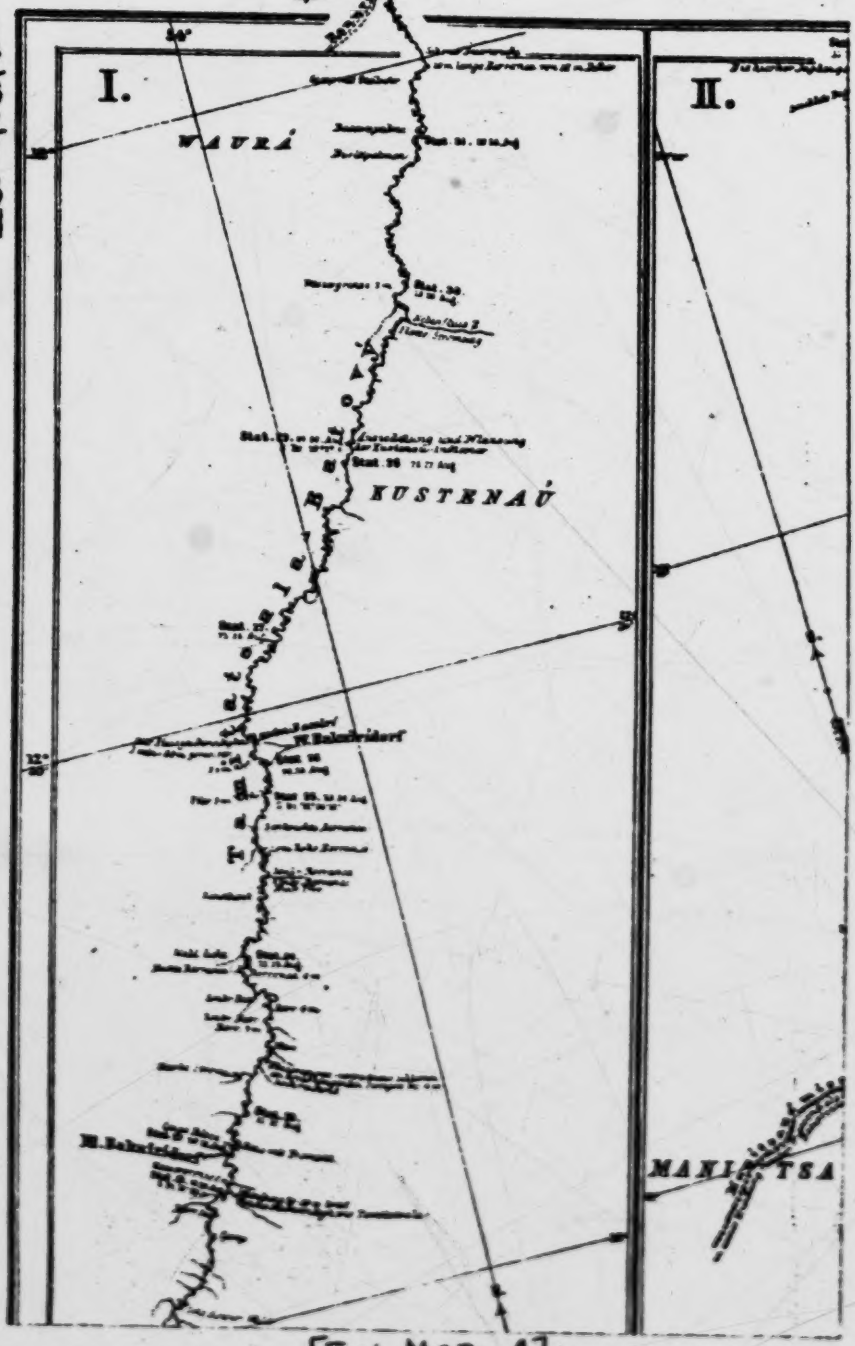

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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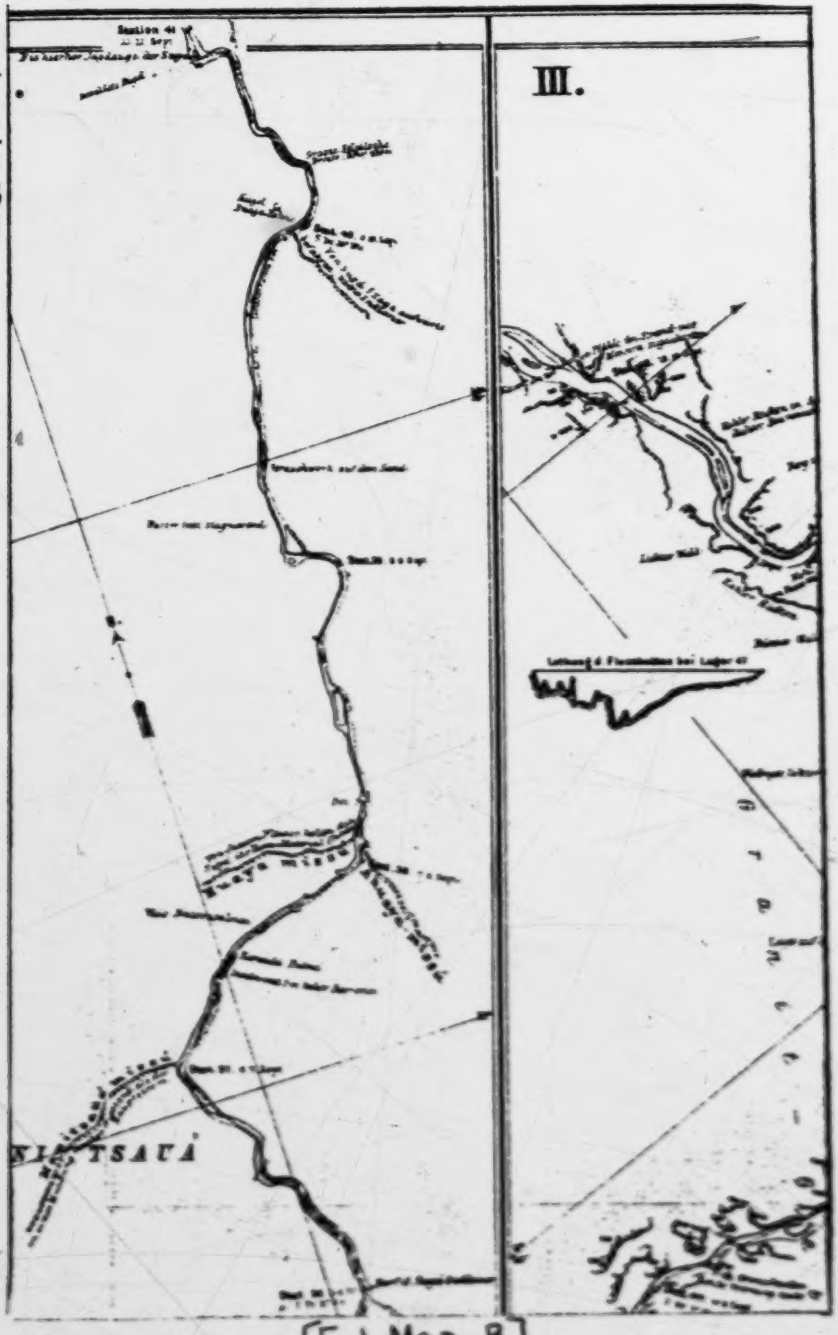

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacair: SP?

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

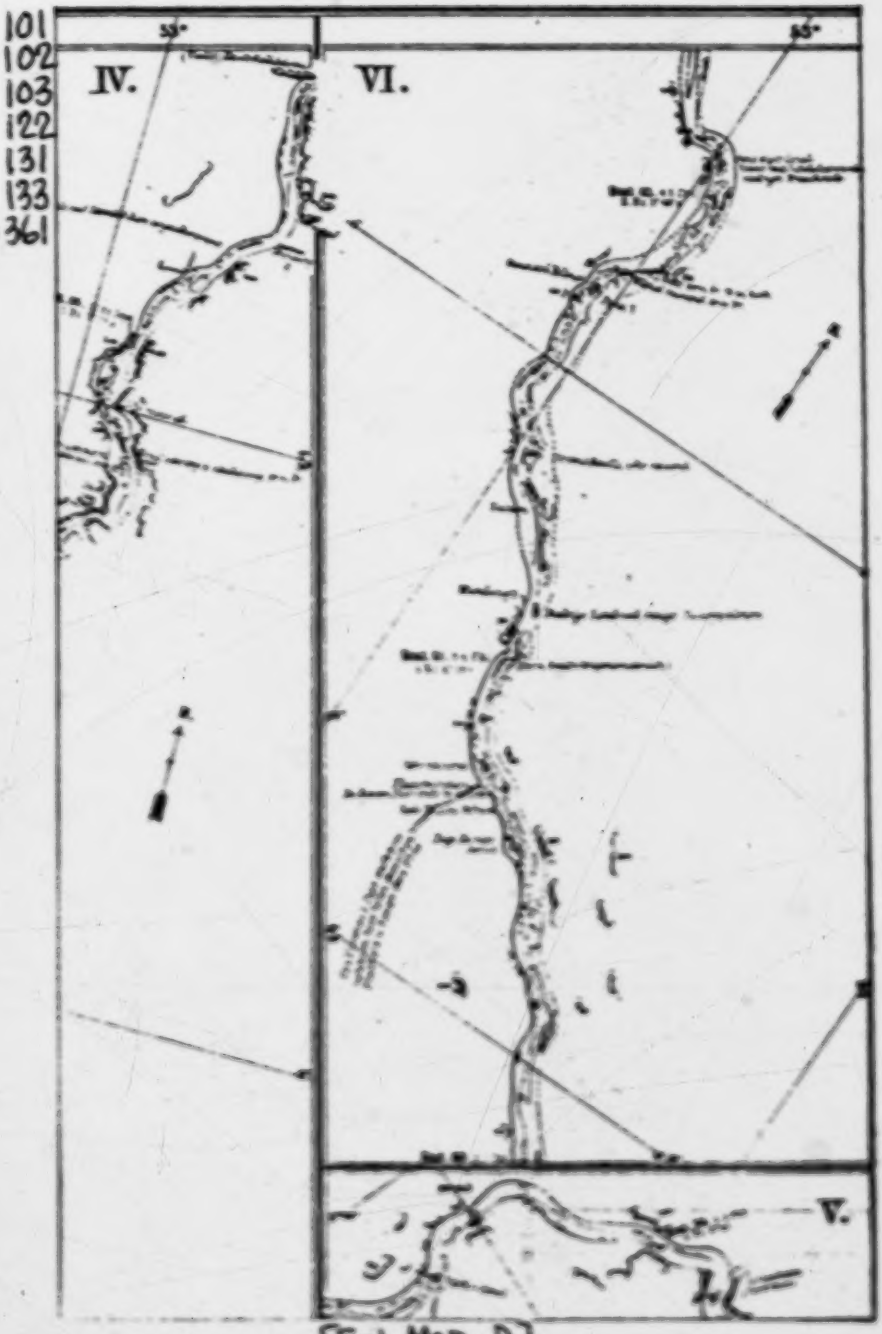
cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth. Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

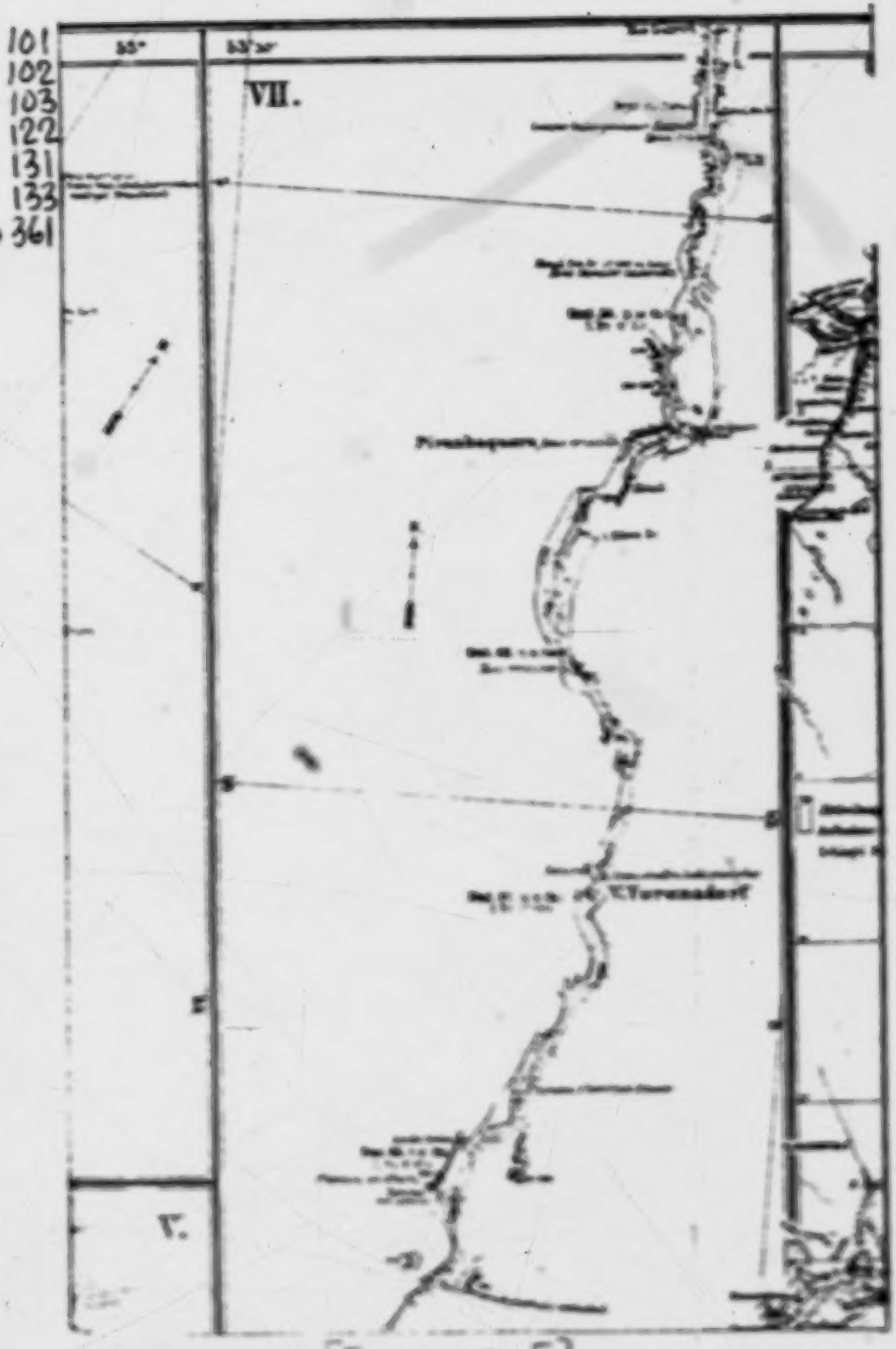
[Legend Appearing Below Scale on End Map, C]

1: Steinen--177 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7



[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Facaltr SP7



[Enl. map, E]

1: Stor...-179 D.C.S (1884) 1896 SP7 Recair SP7

[End Map, F]

1: Steiner - 180) 5-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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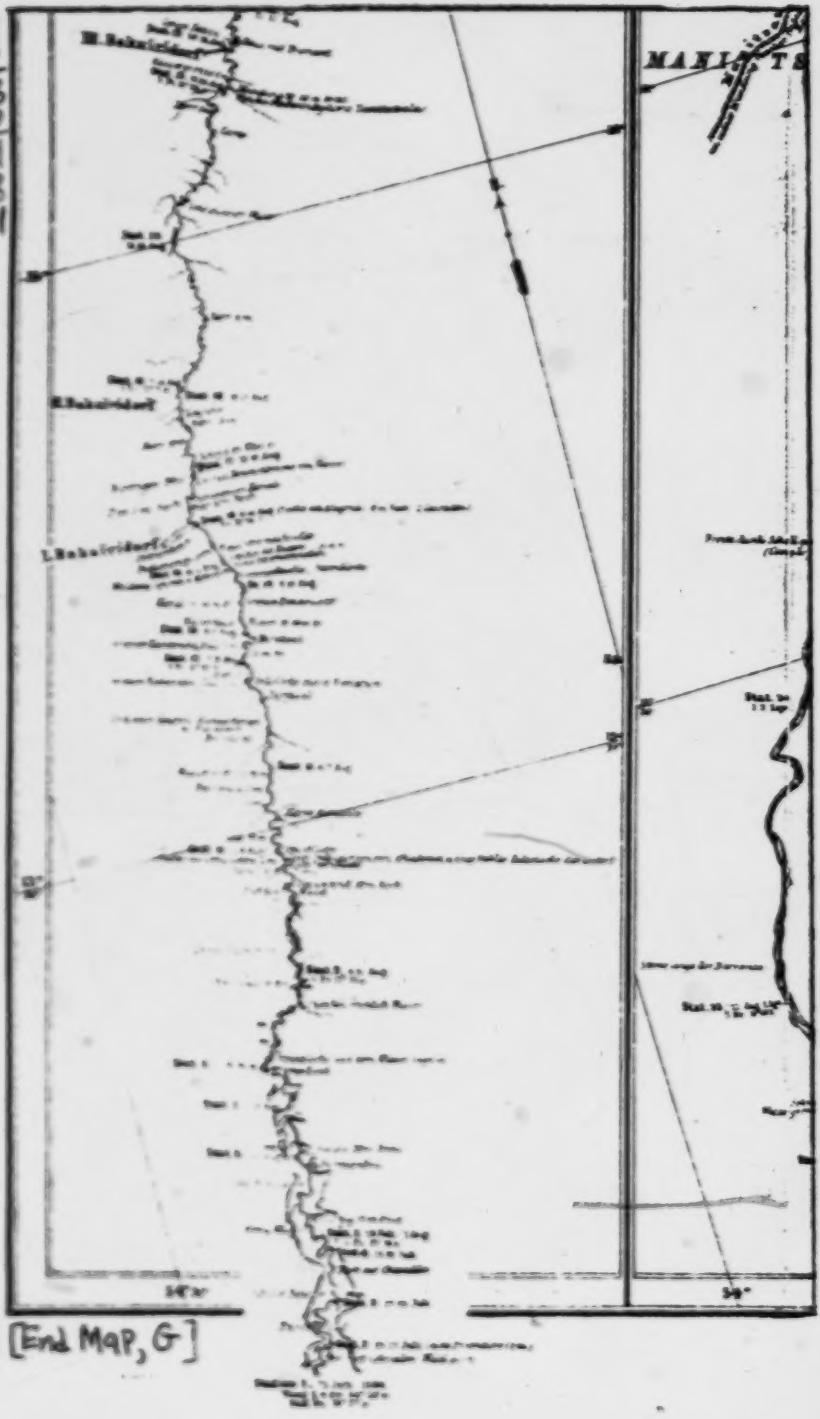
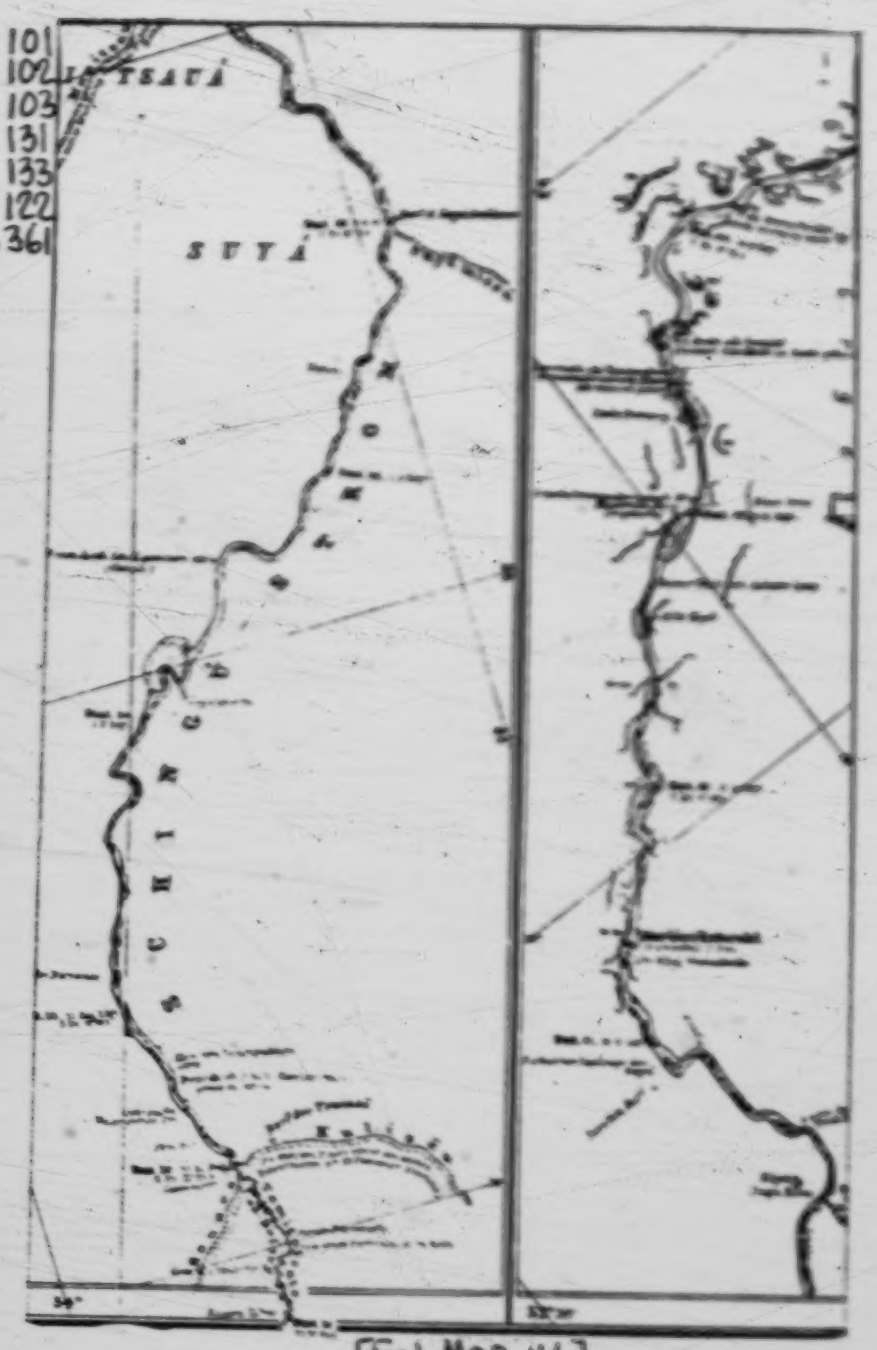
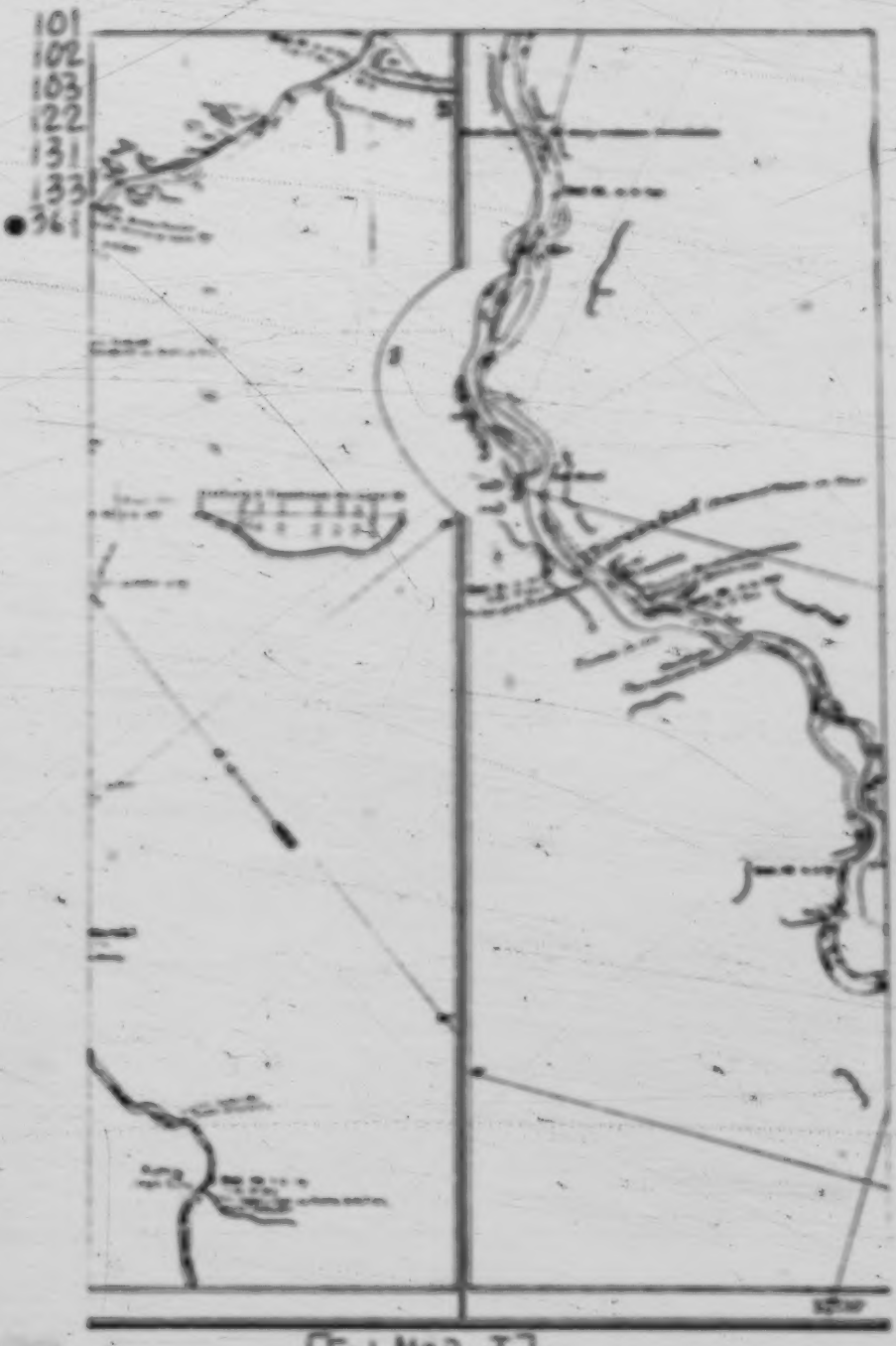


[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP? Backlit SP?

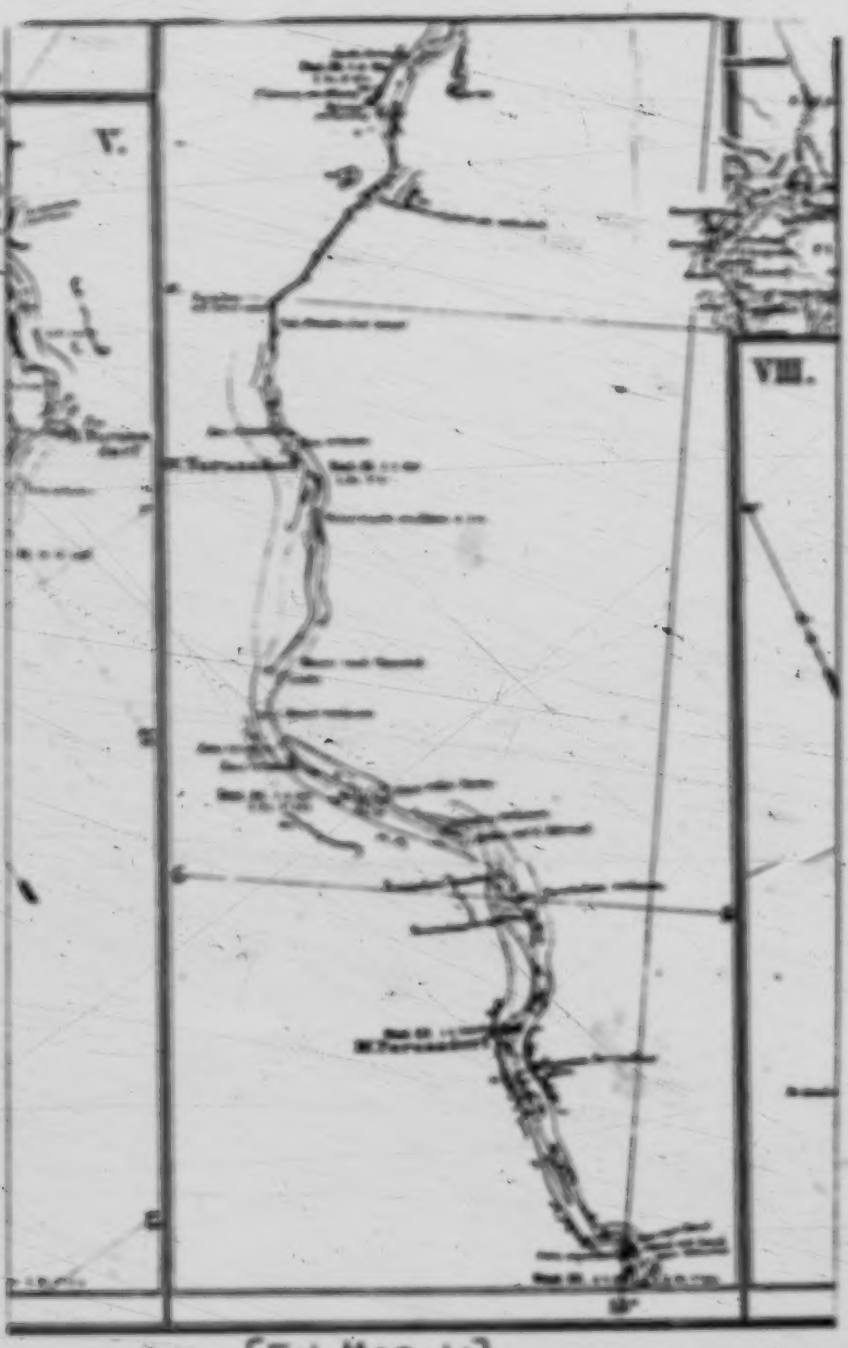


[End Map, H]



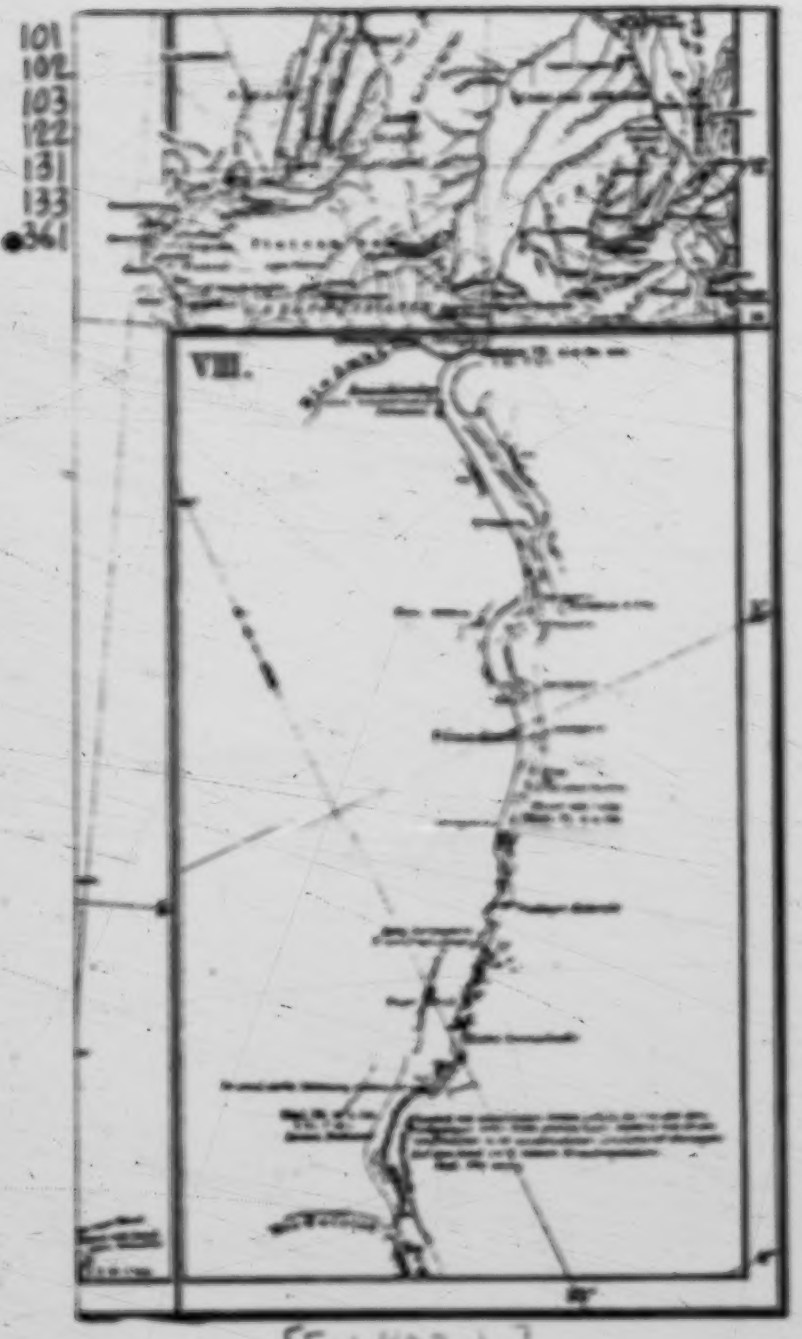
[End Map, I]

[End Map, J]



[End Map, K]

I: Stenzel - - 185 D E-3 (1884) 1886 SPT Bacaim SP7



[End MAP L]

2. Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribesdiscussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another [487] along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ĩma = "you," "that is you," or "ĩma kɣarĩiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kɣarĩiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mãh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayurá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

B 101 T 114

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[437] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
• [361] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books.--And here I
157 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteistics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol.I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear lesshappy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he isgloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable tothe Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they aced toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of his. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is tue, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire iew of life less sunny than among the children of the SouthSeas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easiy aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eye, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family berween the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consistedof two large
342 round houses, in each of which several familieslives, and a
592 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
122 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tasára,"
417 an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
251 mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
241 long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
36 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

The community numbered nine men, seven women, five children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief, our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl. 6),[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule, Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto ĩra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was, as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color. Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 311 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our 241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 345 535 343 231 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord 412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone [191] for the stone axes, it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the tambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 162 622 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured, very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.

974 437 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were constantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairi Village (Kuyaqualifti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-fti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
627 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beiju baked at night.

B /153 cont./
S the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements
101 of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true,
131 cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exacti-
823 tude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kuliseĥu for the Kuluĕne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro. Vogel under-
101 stood the Auetó chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-
131 Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Pareuí Indians. It would be most interesting and significant if the Pareuí, like the Bakairí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitatoala*,
101
103
131
● 321

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitanoala.
tamindo, falcon, owl & they killed (schöle)
a falcon, as the Bakairí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakairí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kuliseĥu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakairí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualidti or
Suya village.

/154 cont./

harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages, the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapihú -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapihú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihú, Ulavapitú, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kuliseháu and Batovy. The village of the Auetó may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetó.

The Kuliseháu flows into the Kuluéne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Kobénem. The wife, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetó. The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluéne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kuliseháu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapú, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá. the Yanumakapú, the Inomakabihú of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kuliseháu and Kuluéne.

2 Steinen--134 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacan: 289
Trumai: 5223

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kumenaú, Waurá, and Taulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Suiadrí (?), Nahuquá (9).

Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kumenaú (1), Taulapiti (2).

Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Aueté (1).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kumenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

2: Steinen--1958,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/300/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-as monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kobleme, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

2: Steinen--453 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7

/378 cont./

539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same merit as kinfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Caetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semfmo, bat) and Rei do Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuchini, Mero, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone chasm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on termites. that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch matrichan fish in them, how to plait roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakairi, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
725 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing.
The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along
with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized
him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go
and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again.
When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

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On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

1. Historical Data on the Bakairí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakairí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakairí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West Bakairí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
131 • [361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 [199] [164] [159] The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

193 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 193 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the 131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde 169 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle 361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
●361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ [illegible] another Bakairi, at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakairi moved from the xaiko to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Romuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakairi. At one time a route led from the xaiko as far as the Aueto on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Romuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakairi are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained manioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakairi took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Aueto and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, to have the names of the rest of the Kuliseho tribes, the Mehinaku /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kuikenai /Cuicenay/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumai, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfather. In the third Bakairi village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Paranatinga, that occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Paranatinga Bakairi may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakairi groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the xaiko, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakairi.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabi /Cayabi/ are given as

128 101 361 361 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeias about two leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.,

in a single aldeia, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

[13] 7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Paranatinga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o do Rio S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Paranatinga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the Sao Manoel and Telles Pires River/. Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

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/13 cont./

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Cuyabá." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí

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place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already

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been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Serra-fire near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the

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Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

14. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 63.

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /15/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for
revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two
girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
expedition in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River,
where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called
Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among
the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given
the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga
River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later
location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paresí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paresí, Charlotte, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe,
had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 f.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paresí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
179 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there
was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paresí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent these legends

175 /17 cont./
L19 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
195 Xingú River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the last expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
L22 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Ikimo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
175 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
L22 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
L22 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1891 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

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175 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kuliseu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (20)

20.- Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, suffering in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseu.

114 36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed out of the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /hanaiba/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 17a, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 323 285 283 252 179 322 412 301 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no longer depended on stone axes, drill with stone points, shells, and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Máigeri-áldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

291 291 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians, the first Bakairí aldea, called Máigeri, consisted of only two large houses of ximbóis and one small house for fiestas with an oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of ximbóis and of one house for fiestas. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to Curt Nimuendajú Meyer's observation that this tribe was 114 361 345 161 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there

30. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 128.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Máigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/24 cont./

114 161 361 second. Maimaieti, also called Muriha, but for a short /25/ time there was also an aldea called Bodoiu in the region that extends between the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers. From the fact that the wife of the Bakairí, Mayukú, who was the head of one of the Maimaieti houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey to the Rio Kuliseihu, exact data on the population of the first aldea of Maigeri and of Bodoiu aldea situated between the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseihu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in the year 1901. But I can still recall clearly that the population of Maigeri aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of similar size instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen found, it can be concluded that the population had increased considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the second Rio Kuliseihu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them at some 40 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the population of Maimaieti aldea in later times, which I estimated at 45 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea, which had formerly existed on the Kuliseihu, numbered, according to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses in this aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If we add up the figures estimated and noted by Karl von den Steinen for the population of the Bakairí aldeas which existed at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kuliseihu, we get a total of some 160 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseihu. When I was in Maimaieti there were 45 individuals present in this aldea, but they said that a number of the inhabitants were

/25 cont./

114 161 361 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 681 It is certain that the epilogues of the expedition made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Cavacado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 198 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahuquá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 361 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

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P26 cont. 1

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
•361 Rio Teles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and
the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira
do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa,
loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
682 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long,
white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira
do Pedro, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
682 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the Rio Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio
Teles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of
Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea contained at this time of seven
houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a
relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the
159 sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
593 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
361 nephew, José Cerqueira, had become intensified, and after a
serious quarrel between them, José Cerqueira had left Antonio's

/26 cont./

159 593 361 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Posto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 593 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Dona Rosa Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village. /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the (194) one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1913 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by (114) a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 361 166 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kururí of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kururí's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already at

SPT cont./

the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Souza's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had unintentionally decreased through José Conrado's defection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kuruñí, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abóboras /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher large houses had made them give that up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights to the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Estrêla, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teréza Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Conrado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kuruñí's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/29/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small canvas apron, rectangular

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/29 cont./
114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kuliseu. He too was already
[424] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
• 361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic be-
tween this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Pessôa. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity
of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians
a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor
Benedino, and his family also had. The post at the time was
still at the same location where it was first established, where
José Conrado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers
downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and
four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the
small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative build-
ings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranches for the Bakairí Indians
(cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí
lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles
Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only
part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the
individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement,
the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their
small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciquemship over
162 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
169 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)
101 In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Lucito,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kuliseu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on
his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[109] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the
photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[1901] Steinen some 30 years earlier. In another house there still
lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when
she was the young wife of old Cacique Cuiaaro.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigues and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
• 36 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[144] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and
the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits
derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all
the Bakairí of the Sanovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the
Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other dis-
cords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get
along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this
reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther
downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the
place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It
was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four
small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther down-
river I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho
occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

/31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
36 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
626 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
159 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
114 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea,
[487] Karíe. I had already encountered Karíe when I visited Cacique
Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
620 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

[21 cont.]

had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcelino Camirage and his family (cf. figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jango Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at the time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

/38 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an unsung search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so the Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranches, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the sections that follow.

• 361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Sundret Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] [241] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Kuiguaus especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinguaus, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /39/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Sundret Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 648 FN3 cont / According To

Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

[871]

[231]

114 648 127 241 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information, I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretation when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a semi-nomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kuliseu, with the possible exception of the Trumai, a typical agricultural people. The rites related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeias, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

[231]

226 114 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--3/9 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

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103
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361
114

Territory of the Bakairi

— — — Itinerary of the author.

/259/

121 756 784 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On [177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões 131 361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga
173 River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
361
166
619

[113]

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/200 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113]

3. Capistrano de Abreu,
"Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro. 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113]

4. Karl von den Steinen.
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig. 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin. 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[249-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Servico de Protecão aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 3 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack cows, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Burkman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Servico de Protecão aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

THE BACAIRI

Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairi who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

Linguistically the Bacairi belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairi are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or aquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical appearance the Bacairi remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guaná living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

The Bacairi Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres do Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Bacahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martius places them in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairi living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopes led an expedition in search for gold into the area and with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairi to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

The first scientific account of the Bacairi dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairi living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batovi River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairi located between latitudes 13°30' and 12°30' S.

The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

Rio Novo	6	18	10	20	54
Paranatinga	7	6	6	6	17
On Rio Sacre:					
First village	5	10	7	9	29
Second village	6	16	17	7	43
Third village	5	13	12	10	40
Fourth village	7	27	10	6	50
Total	36	90	61	66	227

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utenáiri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towing*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasóre*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kudoshi*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kudoshi*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirda*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*ddiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ondiko*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

Petrolia E-9 (1931)1932 RPB Barcroft

clearing. After dropping a rack filled with trade goods, we flew back to Cayubá, surprising its population for the second time by our safe return. On this trip we had been away almost the entire day, so that practically no hope was held out for us, though there was a rumor that we had found gold, which caused our delay.

The distance from Cayubá to where the plane could land on the Kuluene was so great that if we wanted to do any further air exploring we had to get a deposit of gasoline there. It was therefore decided that I was to transport overland ten cases of gasoline. The plane would pay my party a visit on the sixth week after my departure from Cayubá, that being the time calculated that it would take to reach it overland, at the same place where we had landed at the mouth of the Kuluene.

After recruiting four men in Cayubá, three of whom were recommended by Major Noronha and proved to be the finest that could be employed, we set off for the Bakairi post in two motor trucks. Our baggage consisted of aeroplane gasoline, an outboard motor, gasoline and oil for it, trading goods, personal equipment and food. No tents were taken for shelter, nor canvas cutters, and so forth. Our food consisted of tinned flour, beans, rice, coffee and meat. In addition, we carried six sealed tins containing emergency rations for a few days, of which we had occasion to make use later. Our camping equipment was as simple as that of the camaradas, merely a hammock, blanket and mosquito net. Our only luxury was a portable phonograph, which as long as we had it helped to keep the men and aborigines in good humor.

It took us three days to reach the Bakairi post, after an early end of the expedition was threatened by the breaking of two wheels of the truck. Beyond Chapada the road is good. This section was built by the Bakairi under the direction of Major Noronha. On our way we stopped at the Protestant Mission at Burity, where we were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Meyer. It is on the property of the Mission that the Velo de Noiva Falls are.

THE BAKAIRI

The peoples of a number of villages speaking Bakairi have been collected at the post, Simão Lopes, on the Paranatinga river. The post consists of a number of excellent government buildings in charge of an agent and a small staff. A little distance away is the Bakairi village, in

Bakairi 27
Pará Geral 52

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspetoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way hemmed to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the looms, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspetoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of each groups of the native population as soon under its tutelage.

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, where they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspetoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, ignorant of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the level waters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluene who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Barara SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Coyaima, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

Our occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Patascoyas, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lessened resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Imperatrix has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluene. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The bags (sarah) that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluene. It is claimed that the jaguar clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, as they are still generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluene.

For the old hammock made of palm leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluene. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluene, but in some cases I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

SP8 Barrera
Barrera SP7
Yaruro SP25

and a number went on the sick list with fever. From this time on, at least three of my fifteen men were daily suffering from some malady that incapacitated them for hard work.

Just below the rapids formerly were located a number of Bakairi villages, as reported for instance by Von den Steinen. We passed the sites of the villages known as Morikó, Iguriti, Maiorití, names meaning mosquito, harpy eagle, and turtle, respectively.

In this time some of the camaradas began to show restlessness, especially one man that I had brought from Diamantino to act as my foreman but who had failed in most of his duties to show the efficiency necessary. This, the fact that there was so much illness, and because we were behind our schedule, urged me to make use of the outbound canoe now that we were in clear water. Accordingly three canoes were lashed together and the other four were towed in pairs. We made good speed, but an odd change came over the men. From being expert canoemen they became clumsy in their movements, as if that were the first time that they had ever been canoes. Also, having nothing to do, they became increasingly restless in their places. This resulted in disaster several days later, after we left the Yaulapiti, at whose port we had encamped.

Forced for time in order to keep our scheduled meeting with the plane at the mouth of the Kuluene, the Yaulapiti village was not visited. We camped opposite their port late in the afternoon, and soon afterwards Uluke, the chief headman, and some of his followers, appeared on the opposite bank. He came alone, since none of his men apparently had the courage to visit us. A few gifts were made to him and he went over, promising to be back in the morning with his people and food for us.

Uluke kept his word, for in the morning the opposite bank was crowded with naked men, women and children, carrying calabashes filled with farina, baskets filled with beiju, and fish wrapped in leaves. Our phonograph kept them amused on their crossing over, but one prevented them interested them more. In the few hours that we stayed with them I tried to make as many notes as possible and collected a number of objects—work that was of no avail, for a few hours later everything was lost under fifty feet of water.

Authority among the Yaulapiti did not exist. It was in vain that Uluke tried to impress us with his power; everyone behaved as he

[text continues on p. 136]

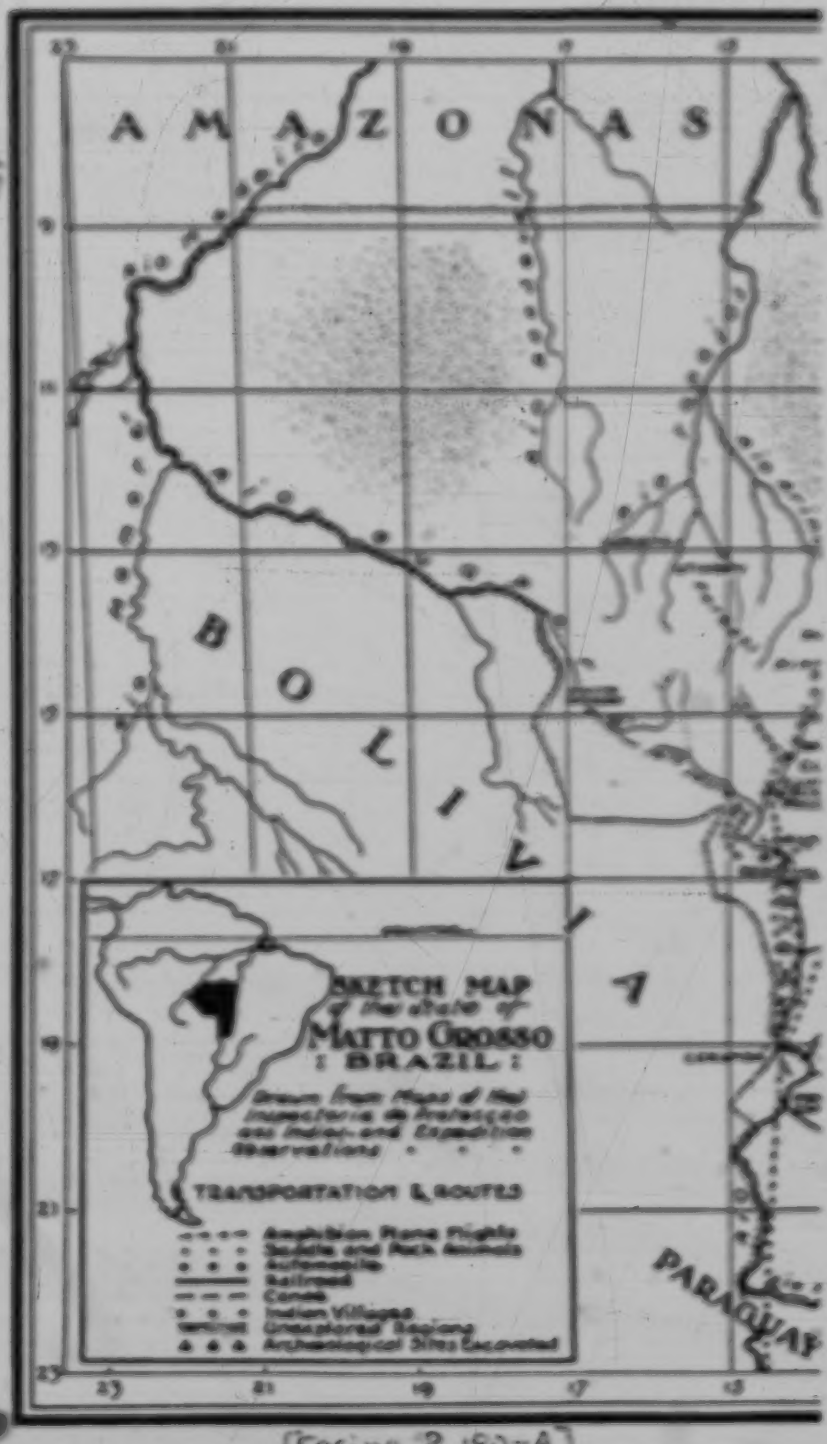
moved to the Kuluwe. A comparison of the map with that of Von den Steinen will reveal that a number of changes have been made.

Formerly the four Bakairi villages were to be found below the Tanury falls, being the first habitations that were encountered on descending the Kuluwe. These have now been abandoned, and the Bakairi people, including those of the Rio Novo who are almost extinct, have withdrawn to the Imperatriz's post on the Paranatinga. Thus, the first people to be met are the Aruakuma, whose village is on the right bank, in about the same location as that given by Von den Steinen. Several days of paddling downstream is the post of the Mehinaku, on the left bank, and the village is at least several hours' march away from the bank. This also is in the approximate location given by Von den Steinen. At the time of our visit, however, the Mehinaku were busily building a village on the right bank. Their fields were ready, the eagle house was built with the eagle in possession, and our house was almost completed. The reason given for the movement contrary was that there was necessity of seeking better fields. Another Aruak people, the Yaua, also have a post on the west bank of the Kuluwe, below that of the Mehinaku, but their village must be close to the Batovy. A group of them that came to visit our camp came by way of the Batovy and Kuluwe.

Below the mouth of the Kuluwe there is a lagoon and lowland on which are located three villages. The settlement in that of the Anuki, a Tupi people, who have in addition a post on the Kuluwe. Next to them to the north are the Yawalapiti, who are Aruak, and close to the mouth are the Kamayura, also Tupi, a numerous and much-feared people. Fishing in the lagoon is restricted to members of each group within certain limits.

The Kuluwe rises up to the rapids in possession of Carib peoples. Just below the rapids are the Nafuquá, and then going northward are met the Kalapalo, the Auikuti (Cujaveu) and the Trumai, all having their villages on the west bank. These groups are in constant warfare with the Tupian-speaking people that wander over the territory east of the Kuluwe, and creep westward, but to the south of the Nafuquá and Aruakuma. It would seem that the Tupian peoples actually surround the other peoples of different linguistic stocks that have more permanent settlements.

J. Petrolia E-5 (1931)1932 SPI Boreno SP6 Bolivia SP7



[Facing P 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]